

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 1786

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR ZA AO PO PINS

SUBJECT: ANGOLA: FOUR PRESIDENTS MISSION TO ANGOLA AND PORTUGAL

1. ZAMBIAN FONMIN BANDA TOLD ME THAT FOUR PRESIDENTS HAD AGREED IN LUSAKA'S WEEK-END SEPT 13 MEETING TO SEND HIGH LEVEL MISSION OF PARTY OFFICIALS TO HEADS OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN ANGOLA AND TO PORTUGUESE GOVT IN LISBON WITH TWO-POINT MESSAGE: (A) GOVTS OF ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE AND BOTSWANA AS WELL AS CONGO BRAZZAVILLE (WHO REPRESENTED AT LUSAKA MEETING BY PM) CONTINUE TO SUPPORT PORTUGUESE GRANT OF INDEPENDENCE TO ANGOLA ON NOV 11 UNDER ALVOR AGREEMENT; (B) THEY FAVOR FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT OF NJMIONAL UNITY AS POSSIBLE WAY OF RESOLVING DISPUTE AMONG CONTENDING LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. AS SAVIMBI MET WITH PRESIDENTS IN LUSAKA, MAIN PURPOSE THIS MISSION IS TO CARRY MESSAGE TO NETO AND ROBERTO.

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2. BANDA SAID MPLA LEADER NETO WILL BE ASKED BY SPECIAL MISSION TO BE POLITICALLY "MAGNANIMOUS" FROM HIS DOMINANT POWER BASE OF MILITARY SUPERIORITY AND TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER TWO LIBERATION GROUPS IN FUTURE GOVERNMENT. HOW REPRESENTATION TO BE IMPLEMENTED ENTIRELY UP TODOMINANT PARTY OR PARTIES AT MOMENT OF TRANSFER OF POWER.

3. I ASKED BANDA IF THERE ANY BASIS TO SUPPOSE THAT A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY WOULD BE MORE SUCCESSFUL IN BRIDGING SHARP IDEOLOGICAL, PERSONAL AND OTHER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS THAN HAD AGREEMENTS OF MOMBASA ALVOR, AND NAKURU. HE WEAKLY SAID "YOU ARE RIGHT, BUT WE MUST KEEP ON TRYING TO AVOID AN EVEN WORSE CIVIL WAR AFTER INDEPENDENCE."

4. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION ABOUT POSSIBILITY THAT PORTUGUESE COULD TURN ANGOLAN DISPUTE OVER TO UN IF THEY UNABLE FIND STRONG MAJORITY BY INDEPENDENCE, BANDA SAID ZAMBIA PRESENTLY OPPOSED TO UN TAKING OVER ANGOLAN PROBLEM, ALTHOUGH HE NOTED SENEGAL'S PRESIDENT SENGHOR MADE THIS PROPOSAL IN PARIS TODAY. BANDA INDICATED OTHER THREE PRESIDENTS WHO MET IN LUSAKA OVER WEEK-END WERE ALSO OPPOSED TO UN OPTION.

5. HE HOPED FOUR PRESIDENTS' SPECIAL MISSION MIGHT HAVE EFFECT OF BRINGING CONTENDING LIBERATION MOVEMENTS CLOSER TOGETHER. ZAMBIA SENDING CENTRAL COMMITTEE SUB-COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN (POLITICAL, CONSTITUTIONAL, LEGAL AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND FORMER VICE PRESIDENT) REUBEN KAMANGA, ASSISTED BY STATE HOUSE AIDE AMBASSADOR PETER KASANDA. TANZANIAN AND BOTSWANAN REPS UNKNOWN; MOZAMBIQUE WILL SEND FRELIMO LEADER VEIRA WHO ALSO COMMISSIONED TO REPRESENT OTHER THREE AFRICAN GOVTS IN CARRYING SAME MESSAGE TO LISBON.

6. ZAMBIA ALSO SENDING PM AND FORMER ZAMBIAN FONMIN ELIJAH MUDENDA TO KINSHASA TO BRIEF PRESIDENT MOBUTU ON RESULTS OF FOUR PRESIDENTS SEPT 13 MEETING IN LUSAKA.

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7. COMMENT: DESPITE BANDA DISCLAIMER THAT PERCEPTIONS AND APPRECIATIONS OF FOUR PRESIDENTS AT LUSAKA WHERE NOT DIVIDED AS TO FAVORITES AMONG LIBERATION LEADERS AND MOVEMENTS IN ANGOLA, WE KNOW SUCH DIVISIONS EXIST. PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND MACHEL, AS WELL AS CONGOLESE PM LOPEZ NOW ALL SEE NETO AND MPLA AS EMERGING VICTORIOUS. KAUNDA (AND POSSIBLY KHAMA) IS STILL PINNING HIS HOPES ON SAVIMBI OF UNITA AS ATTRACTIVE MODERATE LIKE HIMSELF

AND AS COMPROMISE CANDIDATE FOR LEADERSHIP OF
INDEPENDENT ANGOLA. THUS THERE IS DEFINITE SWING
OF NYERERE AWAY FROM UNDERSTANDING ON SAVIMBI REACHED
AT KANANGA EARLY LAST APRIL WHEN HE, KAUNDA AND MOBUTU
AGREED TO ADVANCE SAVIMBI OVER NETO AND ROBERTO.
MOBUTU NOT PRESENT AT SEPT 13 LUSAKA MEETING, LEAVING
KAUNDA AS MINORITY VOICE IN SUPPORT OF SAVIMBI.
PRESUMABLY ONE OF UNSTATED PURPOSES OF FOUR PRESIDENTS'
SPECIAL MISSION TO ANGOLANS IS TO PAPER OVER THESE AND
POSSIBLY OTHER DIFFERENCES AMONG THEMSELVES. FACT THAT
PARTY RATHER THAN GOVT LEADERS ASSIGNED THIS MISSION
SUGGESTS THAT FOUR PRESIDENTS ARE MORE CONCERNED WITH
PUBLIC SHOW OF UNITY THAN THEY ARE HOPEFUL OF ANY REAL
SUCCESS FOR THIS MISSION.
WILKOWSKI

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